FELLOWSHIP

April 1944 Vol. X—No. 4

Father of Lies

This armor-plate,
This martial caparison,
Is not a shield from bullet or spear,
But from the eternal sun.
These wraps of steel,
These coverings thick and hard,
Are worn to deflect no earthly fire,
But the radium of God's regard.

All this colored deceit,
This camouflage of serpent in the tree,
Is not a blind for the brother foe,
But so that God will not see.
— He who has nothing to hide,
The pure One, beauty's avatar,
Hangs on a cross in blackest midday,
Naked as a star.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE

"Ye Shall Receive Power"

An Easter Meditation by

A. J. MUSTE

•

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Letter from Europe

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

HOW many pacifists have ever thought their pacifism through? How many of us know what we would or should do in the hour of crisis, and why? It is easy being cocksure when the enemy is three thousand miles away across the seas. But what when the enemy suddenly comes hammering on our own doors? What then?

In January of this year, I invited Professor George W. Hartmann, Chairman of the Peace Now Movement, to address my Forum on "Peace Now—Why Not?" Some weeks following there broke out the sensational "smear" campaign directed against Peace Now on wild charges of sedition and treason. At the climax of the excitement, announcement of Professor Hartmann's engagement with the Community Forum was flaunted in the pages of the sensational press, and the fury of the campaign was directed against me and my church. I had never belonged to Peace Now and had had no connection with its work, yet here I was in the midst of the storm.

In short order came threats of violence. I was informed that the proposed meeting would be broken up, that Dr. Hartmann would never reach the platform, etc. These threats were direct and responsible. I knew where they came from. I made report of the situation to my Trustees, as I was in duty bound to do, and the Trustees voted unanimously to go ahead with the meeting, "under proper police protection."

Meanwhile, the city government—the Mayor's office, the office of the Police Commissioner—had also been receiving protests and threats of violence. These were so alarming that the police made preparations to handle a probable riot. I was duly waited upon by an Inspector and a Lieutenant of the Force to arrange for the presence of the police at the Forum meeting. It was proposed that men be stationed around and in the church, and reserves posted at a near-by corner. "We are going to to take no chances," said the Inspector!

Here was a situation which I had never faced before. What was I to do? Analysis seemed to indicate three possible courses of action:

(1) Hold the meeting as announced and as usual—i.e., with no resort to the police! This would be the ideal thing, as vindicating the principle of free speech, and at the same time as testing out the methods of pacifism. If men proposed to invade this meeting with force and violence, then let them be met by persuasion and good will! *But*—the Trustees of the church, charged with responsibility for any hazards involved, asked for the police; and the police had themselves served notice of their intention to be on hand. Under the given circumstances, this course of action was not open.

(2) Hold the meeting under proper police protection! Fight it out, if necessary, and therewith establish Professor Hartmann's right to speak! But to do this would be to outrage the whole pacifist philosophy of my life. Imagine my conducting a meeting in a church behind the breast-works of policemen's clubs and revolvers! Suppose there was brawling and fighting, with intruders suppressed, perhaps beaten, very likely seized violently and thrown out of the hall. Or suppose all this was prevented, and order maintained, by the sheer overawing threat of what the police would do to disturbers! What would there be left in such case of pacific principles and religious ideals? The presence of even a single officer would break the spell of the spirit, and give over the whole meeting to the custody of force. What a spectacle that would be—and what a defeat for everything that I hold precious! Here I have for years been saying that, if my country were threatened with invasion, I would not fight or support a defensive war. Now, when my church is threatened with invasion, I am challenged to resort immediately and ruthlessly to arms. Meet force with force in a church? *Never!* Yet there are those calling themselves pacifists who criticize me for not doing this very thing. Which means, if it means anything, that, brought face to face with violence, these pacifists would fight! And they call themselves "Conscientious Objectors." To what, I ask!

(3) Abandon, or rather postpone the meeting! But this would be to abandon also the issue of free speech. Exactly! And that's the price which, in such case, we have to pay for the integrity of the pacifist ideal. Peace has its price, and sometimes this price may be the most precious thing in the world —life, liberty, the very sanctity of one's country or one's cause.

The dilemma here was perfectly simple, and whatever choice was made, it involved loss. On the one hand, we could maintain free speech, and abandon pacifism; on the other hand, we could cling fast to pacifism, and abandon, for the time being, free speech. Faced for the first time in my life by this precise dilemma, I found that the eternal sanctity of the pacifist ideal was more precious to me than the temporary issue of free speech. So I chose the former at the expense of the latter. The meeting was not held.

Gandhi faced a similar dilemma, on a vast scale, in his first non-cooperation campaign in 1922. This campaign was amazingly successful—national independence seemed right at hand! Then violence broke out. Indian nationalists, set upon and beaten, succumbed to the temptation to defend themselves and the cause of freedom by resort to force. Instantly Gandhi called off the campaign, and lost everything. But he was not willing to win victory by violence. *Satyagraha* was to him more precious than national independence. Even this extortionate price was not too high to pay for the principle of non-resistance.

I return to my starting point. How many of us pacifists have ever thought our problem through? Not many, I fear. We don't have to! The enemy is too far away. We have never had to face a crisis. But there are some who know, and therefore understand—as, for example, the distinguished Quaker who wrote me anent the Hartmann episode:

> "I am very grateful . . . for your action in refusing in a church to meet force with force. I am sure you have faced a very puzzling situation, but I believe you acted on a thoroughly sound and Christian basis."

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"Ye Shall Receive Power"

AN EASTER MEDITATION

By A. J. MUSTE

THERE are various theories as to why and how it happened, but there is no mistaking *what* happened to the first Christians at Easter time. For one thing, their conception of Jesus changed radically. A few days before, Jesus had seemed to them weak, foolish, defeated, dead. Now they knew that He who had chosen the Way of the Cross had been strong and wise, victorious over death and hell, and filled with the life of God.

To them henceforth Jesus, not Caesar, was Lord. By Jesus' standard the age and all its institutions were to be judged, and by that standard they were doomed. By the dynamic which he imparted to them, and in his way, a new order of life would come into being.

They were ordinary people, as ordinary as you will find in the most ordinary church of your acquaintance. But now they were undaunted, ecstatically happy, filled with unbounded hope. These people were to become the founders of the Christian Church. They were to become, but—for all the change that had taken place in them—they were not yet the Church. All the essentials of Christian faith were theirs, yet something was lacking—*power!*

This is a not uncommon occurrence in human experience. Many of us in the Fellowship today, like many of our comrades in CPS and in prison, are in this state. Many groups feel thus helpless as they face rising war fever and heightened racial tension in their communities. The right attitude, but no power.

Power, we recall, came to that handful of early Christians on Pentecost day. Silent and pervasive as light, it enveloped them; like a great life-stream it flowed through them. In what happened during the days before Pentecost is an indispensable message for our Fellowship today.

These first Christians, as the opening chapter of Acts reveals, believed that their Master wanted them to fulfill four conditions: they "should not depart from Jerusalem"; they were to remain together; they were to "wait for the promise of the Father"; they were to continue steadfastly in prayer. To those who fulfill these conditions spiritual power is given.

"They should not depart from Jerusalem"—the place where Jesus seemingly had been defeated, the stronghold of the opposing forces! It would have been so much easier to make a fresh start in Galilee, but there is no power in running away. To those who face resolutely the toughest problem, the most heartbreaking task, the chief enemy, power comes at last. Maybe it is Jim Crow in your own community or church; maybe it is a personal temptation or a family cleavage; perhaps the fearless witness against war and hate in the midst of war and hate. Whatever the problem, let us stay by it, not depart from that Jerusalem.

They were to stay together. Fellowship is the source of power. The members of most of our groups simply are not together often enough. One plus one plus one does not make three where human beings are involved. It may make thirty or three hundred or three thousand. "Mechanisms, as such, are determined, predictable and controllable. Life, as such, is undetermined, unpredictable and uncontrollable by agencies outside itself." A hundred and twenty very ordinary people were together continuously for ten days—and then God burst upon them, and spoke and acted through men fused into a fellowship.

They were to wait. A whole world lay before them to be evangelized. Most of them seem to have believed they had only a very short time in which to do it. Surely, they thought, there is "no time to be lost." We've got to "hurry and do something about this." But not so. First we must wait. The discipline of refusing to act until it is no longer we who painfully try to help, but God who acts and saves through us, is perhaps the severest of all. No pacifist can escape it. There is something to wait for. Nothing less than "the promise of the Father."

Finally, they were to pray. Prayer is related to power in at least two ways. They who think they already have, do not ask. When at last we fall down on our knees and pray, the inhibitions born of self-sufficiency and self-concern are removed and we can act. The saints pray, having lost concern for self; therefore they are invincible. They can concentrate on the object.

Also, when we get to the point where we want good—any true good—hard enough to pray God for it, we will do what God tells us is necessary in order to achieve that good. We will no longer pray: "O, God, stop the war, abolish Jim Crow, bring peace, save my children—but make it easy, simple, quick for me." Then, as a group of ordinary people—having faced the hard task, having clung together, having waited, having prayed—we will go and do the thing that is to be done. We will say, "We are Christians, therefore—," not "We are Christians, but—."

Can ordinary human beings develop the ability to overcome evil with good? One must practice all-enveloping love in order to know —

The Power of Pacifism

By ELIZABETH HASWELL*

THE very core of pacifism is the belief that there is a better way than violence for the meeting of evil. The basis for my own pacifism is the belief that good can overcome evil, that only good can, and that love is the force of life in good or healthy release, while hatred and all other undesirable emotions are the force of life in evil or unhealthy release. I believe that all the manifestations of injustice and misery in the world result from the unhealthy release of the emotional force of life. I believe that the fact that love can overcome hatred is a law of the mind and that Jesus made a demonstration of this law. That he did not overcome all of the evil which he met and that he was killed by evil men does not destroy the impressiveness of the evidence of his influence over those who came to love him and to believe in his teaching.

I believe that those who have a loving interest in all people and a sense of real and universal brotherhood enjoy the most satisfying and therefore the most normal condition of life. It is possible to cultivate emotional habits that will result in one's feeling such interest and appreciating its value for one's own happiness. It is possible to develop a feeling of understanding sympathy for those who miss this happiness and who live in tense and hateful states of mind. And by means of this understanding sympathy one may appeal to that which is good underneath the bad manifestations of emotion or behavior in any human being.

Unfortunately, many pacifists do not show much power for thus overcoming the unhealthy emotions of other persons. Those of us who do not have this power may not even imagine that it is possible to develop it. In order to develop it we shall have to undergo special mental and emotional training to form new habits of response. Tested methods of guidance for such training are lacking, and we are not likely to try to find ways of more effectively training ourselves for the development of this power until we are convinced of the possibility of such development for ordinary human beings.

The Nature of Love

Usually when we speak of loving enemies, we mean that we should behave as if we loved them. We think that it is our duty to return good for evil, and we imagine that we can do this by using our will power and forcing ourselves to live up to our conception of duty. But love is an emotion and it cannot be forced by an act of will. Love is dynamic and positive. It goes out after the one who is loved. Love is attraction. It needs no sense of duty to bring it into action. The difficulty of believing this in reference to the loving of enemies and those who seem unlovely to us, makes us doubt sometimes that Jesus could have meant what he said on this subject. Yet upon the possibility of doing this the power of pacifism depends.

Consider one passage from the Gospel of Mark [2:14-17] which deals with the attitude of Jesus toward sinners. "As Jesus sat at meat in his [Levi's] house, many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many and they followed him. But when the scribes and Pharisees saw him eating with publicans and sinners, they said unto his disciples, How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners? When Jesus heard it, he saith unto them, they that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."

Jesus loved these people. He loved all people. But for sinful people he had an especially deep sympathy. He had the imagination to realize how painful sin is to the sinner. Because he knew the joy of a completely loving life, he knew what the sinner was missing. His great sympathy for sinners led him to spend more time with them than with nicer people who did not so desperately need his help. And he was able to heal their mental as well as physical diseases by use of the law of love.

We are unable to do this because of our deficient imaginations and because of the imperfect and incomplete nature of our own emotional experiences. If we really could feel the suffering of those who live with very bad emotions, our sympathy would be aroused. If we had experienced the indescribable joy of a completely loving and spiritually free life we would long to bring all others into this pattern. The truth is that we pacifists, like most other people, have been living in the middle ground of commonplace emotional experience. If it is true that only love can overcome evil, then there will be no hope of healing the psychic ills of civilization until a great many people develop the art of feeling far above the present average level.

When an enveloping sense of love, which crowds out of consciousness all tensions and fears and hatreds, becomes a common experience, then and only then will there be enough healthy psychic force in the world to heal the mental illnesses of the people who cause civilizations to manifest evils. Not until then will there be enough clear vision of what is desirable in civilization to make the building of right emotional habits the aim of education and the basis of a culture that will not breed war. The problem is a psychological one, for it involves a new and sounder understanding of the mind in regard to what is normal and satisfying in human feeling. If pacifism has even an inkling of the answer (and there are enough instances of success to warrant a belief that it has) then nothing could be more important than careful study of human experience for the purpose of working out better emotional education and training for those who profess to believe that love can overcome evil.

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We pacifists must show a superior happiness in our lives, for only happiness is an acceptable substitute for unhappiness. If we want to influence others to adopt our faith, we must demonstrate to them a value which they truly desire. Unless we do show a superior sort of happiness and effectiveness in life, we will not attract others to us. For love is not an idea. It is a force. And unless that force can be shown to be stronger (more attractive) than the force of hatred, humanity is permanently doomed. For if hatred were, according to the laws of nature, stronger than love, then hatred would be the emotion which the human being is best prepared by nature to experience. Hatred then would be the normal and because there is nothing so strong as nature, hatred would be the law of life for us and nothing could be done about it. The abnormal could not be strong enough permanently to overcome the normal.

However, the only conclusion which seems possible to me is that total love is the normal state for us and that we have all fallen short of the rightful heritage of happiness which this state would mean, not because we are incapable of being normal, but because we have held wrong ideas about what is normal and possible for us. Jesus emphasized the importance of right belief as the prerequisite for spiritual progress, but pessimism about our natures nevertheless has been perpetuated and developed by certain traditional teachings which have been called Christian. Many of us have had planted firmly in our minds the idea that our natures are evil and this idea has found manifestation in much evil behavior. We cannot with impunity continue to ignore the character of the seed which we plant at the very center of our consciousness.

If we really believe that it is the nature of human beings to enjoy wholesome and abundant life through emotions of love (good-will in all its forms) then we must plant at the very center of our consciousness the faith that God made us for such feelings and that it is therefore normal for us to develop them. Then we must put our intelligence to work to devise techniques for training ourselves to experience and express such feelings. And we must practice these techniques in daily living and evaluate our progress as objectively, as humbly, and as honestly as the scientist in the material field evaluates his experiments.

Christian Scientists and other groups of metaphysicians have made the development of better states of mind and of physical health one of their chief aims. Some of the teachings which I have found in their literature have seemed to me to offer sound psychological basis for pacifist power and its development. Yet these groups have given apparently no attention to outlining or experimenting with better patterns of community or national relationships. Economics and politics are not touched upon in their literature and in spite of their theories, which seem to me to be so clearly related to pacifist technique, these churches have not produced a pacifist movement nor taken any strong stand against war. Even if the only basis for changing a civilization is the changing of the individual, it is important to study all aspects of the social relationships of that individual. If spiritual goals are to be the ends we seek in our society, government and business must come to be recognized as tools for the expression of the wider relationships. As such, they should be judged by pacifists on the basis of their provable service in the expressing of human relationships through emotions of good will, happiness, and love.

Happiness in Wartime

I realize that to many people the idea of feeling happy in such days as these seems absurd. To avoid thinking of the suffering of the world seems a cowardly escape. To know about it and not to work as hard as possible to alienate it seems very selfish. Yet unless we can, while working to help others, keep in our minds something of the joy of life, we will ourselves become weak, nervously and physically, from sensing so much that shocks and horrifies us. And when we are thus weakened, we will not have the power to do what we might otherwise do to alleviate in some measure the suffering of the world. "You cannot pick figs from thistles" is a saying that applies to spiritual as well as to material planting.

Misery does not beget happiness. If we let misery fill our minds (however vicarious we may feel our suffering to be) we will not overcome misery in others. If we are going to work effectively in the present world situation, I think it will be necessary for us to face the actual facts intellectually, but, if we are to avoid emotional weakening, it will also be necessary for us to focus our minds upon that which is good and happy in so far as this is possible. To change conditions we must meet and change the people who are in positions of political leadership or who have the ability to take such leadership. Or we must be able and willing to seek positions of power for ourselves. To do these things it will be necessary to keep the mind focused upon what is right and desirable and attractive, in order that we may have the power to attract others to us and to the ideas which we believe are right and possible for human society.

If it is true that love is the law of life, then there is no excuse for pacifists to hold to the belief that they must remain a small minority. When they begin to demonstrate the law of life by showing themselves more attractive and more spiritually effective then most other people, they will not lack converts to their faith. If they demonstrate a better way of living, the world will follow them; for within each human being, the force of life is trying to release itself in normal patterns of living. No other patterns are satisfying, and today the world is populated by people who are not satisfied with their patterns of living. The world is full of spiritually hungry and confused people. We pacifists must not be so heartless as to hide from them any knowledge that we may have of the source of happiness and health. The trouble, of course, is that we are not sure that we have this knowledge. But even if we have only an inkling of the truth about the power of love, our first duty is to study and to experiment with ourselves in order that we may develop more impressive evidences of the validity of our contentions.

It is a significant thing that many peace conferences are monopolized by speeches and discussions concerning all the problems of the moment, and permit no consideration of means of developing more effectively the personal power needed to solve these problems. These political problems must be considered, but unless pacifists also give some consideration to the development of stronger personalities, the power of their movement will be spasmodic and fortuitous, or perhaps there will be very little power in it. It may be possible that without a clear faith about the essentials

of their spiritual belief, pacifists will not only remain a small minority, but that they will not even be a very peaceful minority in spirit or effect. The pacifist desperately needs the solidarity of a group with which he can share his faith. Lacking this, he is apt to be, not more inwardly peaceful than the average person, but less so. For while the average person is at war with some enemies, he is more or less at peace with the group with which he is associated in the fighting. He has the comfort of constantly meeting people with whom he can share his ideas. On the other hand, many pacifists find themselves at war on all fronts and it is not surprising that they sometimes become very nervous or even "cantankerous." To see wrong everywhere and to lack opportunity to work effectively with a likeminded group to eradicate at least some of the wrong one sees, is to meet almost total frustration. If life makes it seem necessary for the pacifist under these circumstances to be constantly conversing with and showing tolerance to people whose ideas are anathema to him, his situation is indeed hard. But if his religious training has been of a sort really to direct his habitual emotional responses satisfactorily, the pacifist can (in spite of the difficulties of the times) acquire an inner peace that will give him a superior personality. Possessing this, he will find himself valued even by those who cannot understand his ideas, and eventually he will be able to influence them. If he can find others with whom he can share his faith and with whom he can work without conflict of idea or emotion, then he may not only become strong enough to be interesting to individuals of different faith, but he may be able to give leadership to masses of people.

The world is not going to find its way out of its misery until the actual political and economic leadership is in the hands of those who understand the laws of life. If the truth is on the side of the pacifists, as we believe, then there is no excuse for their thinking or behaving as if their function were, at best, to do a little back-seat driving of the vehicles which carry humanity onward.

If pacifists wish to make the world healthy and normal, then pacifists must prepare themselves to accept positions of leadership of all sorts, civic, educational, and political. To do this they must realize that the successful extension of pacifist ideas will follow, not precede, the demonstration of personal pacifist effectiveness. Pacifists must seek leadership positions in the belief that these will offer them greater opportunity for the use of the positive force of love or good will in the overcoming of difficulties.

CPS Has Its Good Points, Too

By PAUL COMLY FRENCH*

CIVILIAN Public Service has been both supported and attacked during the past three years. Frequently those who praised it were not too well informed, and those who attacked it did not base their criticism on all of the facts. Accurate discussion, pro and con, is all to the good, but I have been a little concerned with the tinge of bitterness that often creeps into the criticism of CPS.

First of all, probably no one thinks that CPS is the perfect solution of the problem of conscientious objectors in wartime, whether from the standpoint of the government, the individual, or the various religious groups. I do believe, however, that it is a decided improvement over the handling of the problem in the First World War.

Of course, there is a great deal yet to be accomplished. For instance, the church groups do not have absolute freedom to operate the program without control by the government, and all the men are not being used to their fullest extent and are not doing exactly the kind of work they feel they should be doing. There should be pay for those who want it, and provision should be made by Congress for dependents of men in camp. A classification and appeal system should be devised to prevent any injustice and to make certain that every sincere CO is given the classification he should have. Some workable system should be provided to allow COs in prison to secure parole on a reasonable basis. And, from our standpoint, absolutists should be granted complete freedom, although we were never able to convince Congress of this when the Selective Service Act was first under consideration.

I do not agree, however, that these are arguments for having the total problem assumed by the government. On the contrary, it seems to me that every one of the problems I have mentioned calls for increased church participation rather than less. Should we withdraw, we would have far less opportunity of dealing with them.

Granted that CPS is expensive from a financial point of view. The churches have spent to date more than three and a half million dollars in its support. Without that support, however, I think it is safe to say that there would be even more men walking out of camps to prison, fewer if any special projects, far less consideration of the individual and his talents, and far more dissatisfaction and hardship than we have now.

Of course, if you believe that a prison sentence is the best testimony that a CO can make, there can be no further argument. But I doubt if that is the majority opinion.

Progress of the church groups affiliated with the NSBRO has been slow (and is likely to be slower) except as you compare it with 1917 and 1918. We may never get legal status for CPS dependents, foreign service, or pay, and may never secure the complete legal recognition of the rights of conscience that we would like to see; however, we have hopes of success, for through our efforts these problems are being continually brought to the attention of the proper government agencies.

* Director of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. This article was written in reply to *CPS and the Second Mile* by Evan Thomas, which was published in the February issue of *Fellowship*.

One problem alone, that of demobilization, can make or break CPS, in the minds of the men themselves. If this can be done effectively and smoothly, if some way can be found to provide an outlet for the larger social awareness that most men find in CPS, if demobilization can, in effect, be made a graduation to something else, there will not be much question as to the value of church participation. If, on the other hand, the men are simply released helter-skelter, with none of the benefits of returning servicemen and no attempt made to offer them rehabilitation and a place in the pacifist world—in short, the way the government would release them—then, CPS will, to many men, lose much of any significance it may have acquired.

Of course, even if the churches no longer participated in the program, pacifists still would have some opportunity to present their viewpoints on the problems of demobilization, but I think it is fairly obvious that we have a greater opportunity to shape the formation of policy as a participant than we would have as an outside group.

Undoubtedly, we had a greater measure of freedom in several areas of camp administration in the early days of the program than we have now. I am personally convinced that certain of these administrative responsibilities were assumed by Selective Service because we failed to exercise them. It is always difficult to regain responsibility after losing it, but I am not sure that the answer lies in withdrawing altogether.

Frequently I am told that the government is putting men in out-of-the-way places so that they cannot make any effective witness against war. Even a hasty examination of the facts would show that this is not entirely true. Men were approved by Selective Service for a training course at Columbia University, and others were sent to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Seventeen hundred have been assigned to mental hospitals and training schools. General Hershey also approved the assignment of 70 men to China and the training of other men for foreign service before the project was disapproved by Congress.

Those of us from the cities must remember that many men in CPS are finding very real values in Soil Conservation, Land Reclamation, Forestry Service, and Farm Security programs. A good many men feel that working with the soil is just as important as any service a man can render.

I have heard it said that the historic peace churches are responsible for the present "coercion" under which COs are placed. I have never taken that statement very seriously because I consider it obviously untrue. Does anyone think that conscientious objectors would not have been drafted if the historic peace churches and others had not been in Washington in 1940? Does anyone think that the original draft act, which provided CO status only for members of the historic peace churches, would have been changed without anyone presenting a different solution to the problem? Conscience was placed on an individual basis, rather than on the sole basis of church membership, at least partially because of the work that the historic peace churches did in 1940. I talked with many officials about making the phrase read, "religious training and/or belief," and General Hershey urged the same phrasing. We felt that it would broaden the interpretation and include the various varieties of COs. But Congress refused to accept this provision.

Another source of criticism is the control of CPS by army officers in Selective Service. While understanding the basis of these complaints, I have, frankly, never been too much disturbed over this. It would always be possible to wish for more sympathetic personnel in the agencies with which we deal and, meanwhile, it seems a little strange to me that we, who claim that our methods would be effective against the Nazis, feel unable to deal with someone who wears the uniform of our own country.

It is probably true that CPS is not as glorious as some people envisioned it in the early days of the program. The fact that it has lost some of its sheen, however, does not necessarily mean that we should junk the whole project. There will be no proper evaluation of CPS, of course, until some years after the war, but I am convinced that its worth will be set a good deal higher than appears now, and perhaps for reasons that are not now entirely obvious.

Some indication of this can be seen in the letters now being written to the NSBRO by some of the 1,800 men who have so far been discharged from CPS and with whom we try to keep in contact. A surprising percentage of these tell us that, well, yes, they had done their share of griping in camp and are very glad to be back in civilian life, but that in retrospect they feel that CPS was a broadening and deepening experience which they are now very glad they have had.

Such statements can be discounted, of course, but in general, I think they add something more to the credit side of church administration. With all due respect to Selective Service, I doubt that many such letters will be written from members of government camps. Here again is a hidden asset which would be very hard to evaluate.

One other factor in the question of church support for CPS is generally overlooked, I think. There is now no more unifying bond among the pacifists of this country than the need to raise funds for a common cause. To many people, contributions to CPS represent their share in a movement, the purchase of stock, so to speak, in permanent peace. I would not say that this should be the determining argument in our participation by any means, but I do feel that some equivalent should be found if the churches decide not to continue the present relationship.

It is entirely possible, of course, that at some point one or all of the churches will decide not to continue. We should remember, however, that withdrawal is possible only once. And I sincerely hope that if that time comes, no one will be able to say that we acted hastily, that we did not give a fair trial to something entirely new in American history, or that we defaulted over some minor and obscure point of conscience.

THE CROSS

Indulgently, we think to make the Cross
Of gold that shall be kind to touch and sight,
We hope to shrink the anguish and the loss
Which changed the noon of Calvary to night.

Rough beams and heavy, ill designed to please—
Such gave the Cross its horror and its worth.
By suffering, and not by placid ease,
Could Love redeem the cruelty of earth.

ELINOR LENNEN.

Violence, Offspring of Insecurity

THE SECOND OF A SERIES ON LATIN AMERICA

By JOSEPH M. GOODMAN and DEVERE ALLEN

CENTRAL to any explanation of violence in the Latin American countries must be the outstanding fact of life from earliest times down to the very present—the fact of perpetual, never-forgotten, all-pervasive insecurity. By far the vast majority of Latin Americans, when they have survived the stresses of childhood and the hazards of adult life, have done so almost by a mere hair's breadth. Security, when achieved, has usually been a marginal security, and this is as true collectively as individually. A sense of security has rarely penetrated to the core of individual or national consciousness. What the great masses could take for granted have been struggle, hardship, poverty, hunger, death; but not security. That, when it came, was often unbelievable.

From the very first appearance of human beings on Latin American soil, insecurity was the rule. Empires rose—Maya, Inca, Toltec, Aztec, colonial—in which the price of safety for the group was the extinction of the individual's importance. But these empires fell, and the crude codices by which history was recorded made it clear that the most powerful empire was but transitory. Thus the individual was sacrificed by the Aztec priests as appeasement for the gods. If at times the exaltation of having one's heart cut out for religious purposes may have served as an anodyne to fear, it must also be remembered that most often the victims were not volunteers or willing sacrifices, but war captives.

In those days the smell of blood hung over everything otherworldly, and the clash of battle daily punctuated temporal affairs. Incredible cruelties were so common that there is good reason to suspect the alleged religious motive as, in reality, an excuse for economic and political aggrandizement of a ruling clique at the expense of the impotent masses. For military or political ambitions humans were flayed alive and their skins donned as crude disguises. Even that democratic fellowship which so remarkably appeared among our early plains Indians found no counterpart in the more southerly tribes, though these were more advanced in astronomy, the arts, and collective social administration. Nor did the migrating tribes carry southward the germs of that tribal federative principle that cropped up tangibly among the Iroquois and Seneca Indians.

It is not important, possibly, to weigh the cruelty of the conquering Spaniards in comparative terms, though it is not always understood that they descended upon rulers no less brutal in their exploitation of weaker tribes. But it is certainly of some moment to recognize that the invaders themselves knew no security for many years, that Cortés and his *conquistadores* won their victories only by the help of injured tribes whose own insecurity allied them with the bearded white men from overseas, that on the Sad Night of June 30, 1520 the Spaniards escaped destruction by the flicker of an eyelash. Never could they be absolutely sure of their supremacy, never certain of loyalty among their own ambitious companions, never confident of their sovereign's approval back in the regal intrigues of Iberia. Ruthlessness seemed the most dependable defense, and of ruthlessness there was no dearth. But even the sternest measures could not defeat the Araucanians, those mysterious Indians of southern Chile, in two hundred years of almost perpetual war, war in which no quarter was given by either side.

Even economically life became a race between the autocratic power of Spain, which for three centuries forbade the direct trade of its colonies with each other or with Portuguese Brazil, and bootleg exchange of goods through perilous jungle trails and streams. When the tribes were once subdued they did not always stay subservient; the settlers who were granted huge *encomiendas* and the right to exploit native workers, by flogging if need be, found their paradise too shaky. When Bartolomé Las Casas persuaded the Emperor Charles in 1542 to promulgate the New Laws that were intended to stop the inheritance of large estates and relieve the natives of their most intolerable burdens, the Viceroy of Peru was slaughtered by rebellious gangs of colonists, and from Mexico 600 disgruntled holders of large tracts sailed for home on a single day. No one, not even the exploiters, could be secure in a superior financial and social status.

Cruelty to Animals

Perhaps some day enough of the social history of those times may be known to explain the rise of cruelty, in the New World, to animals. Certainly when cruelty in the conquerors met cruelty in the conquered, animals could not hope for greater kindness than was vouchsafed to human beings. But there is a thread of history, and a series of current social habits, that have implications involving human beings' treatment of one another and that widen out from the status of animals as such.

Certain students insist that once the Aztec temple had been destroyed in Tenochtitlán, now Mexico City, the Spaniards first erected a bull-ring and then, later, the foundation stones of the cathedral. Subtly, ever since, the mind of the *ficionado,* or bullfight "fan," has affected the status of animal life in lands of Spanish influence. If it is true that bullfighting began in Egypt and spread to Rome and thence to Spain, it is in Spain that it came to evil-odored flower. There it has become a major industry, with an investment, in bull-rings and farms, of more than $70,000,000. And if anyone be inclined to question whether bullfighting can possibly have any national character, and be a specialty of the emotions and social thought of any single country, let him explain why in France's southern provinces only a pale buffoonery exists, with youths plucking flowers from the horns of a bull which is not killed, or why in Italy, which in many respects so resembles Spain, there is virtually no form of the bullfight whatsoever.

One need not be over-sentimental about animals to see how wrong are most of the apologies put forward for the bullfight as a social institution. The question is less what happens to the bull or to the horses than what happens to

the minds of those who watch and cheer. All the arguments for the artistry of the bullfight, for its drama, for the elevation of the human spirit by Spartan control over a dangerous beast, miss the fundamental point that at rock bottom, it is sadism in parade dress. There is something that cries out for more, so that in many traveling circuses the climax of the show is a fight to the death between a lion and a bear. Now and then a huge cage is set up in Mexico City's bull-ring, and into it are pushed a lion and a bull, which, after they have been goaded enough with sharp pikes, claw and bite and gore until one is a bleeding carcass and the zest of the crowd for color and beauty and pageantry has been sated.

This is not to say that Mexicans do not love pets, or have them everywhere. But cadaverous, neglected dogs are universal, and wild animals and birds, which in this part of the world are fascinating to the nature lover, are unknown by name or habit to most of the folk who live closest to them. In a certain school in rural Morelos every pupil had a notebook on the front of which was a picture of one of the state's commonest birds; but no pupil could tell an inquiring visitor its name or anything about it. In fact, few are the scientific classifications of Latin American flora and fauna, unless by foreigners, and of popular volumes there are almost none.

Lacking generally, though of course not entirely, are the nature clubs, bird classes, and humane organizations that have contributed so much to the enjoyment of life, and to its greater mercy, in Anglo-Saxon and some European countries. It is not at all far-fetched to believe that any education for peace in large world terms will rise on sand unless the more intimate personal contacts of man with his natural environment are softened from cruelty to compassion, even across the frontiers that separate the species.

Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, though far less influential than in the United States, are beginning to make slow headway. In Mexico, such an organization recently protested the practice of breaking the hind feet of kids so they cannot run away, and of plucking live fowl in the markets. It has been proposed that the fourth of October, Saint Francis's Day, be observed in the schools by special talks about kindness to animals, and that Saint Antonio's Day, January 16, when animals are blessed, be used for propaganda against cruelty to all beasts. A women's organization in Costa Rica has begun giving out appeals along similar lines, but these read like pioneering moralizations of the most elementary sort.

Cock fighting is taboo in some states of Mexico, but still flourishes widely, especially at church festivals or local celebrations. We recently attended such a *fiesta* in the shadow of an ancient village church, where the principal attraction was a cock fight, where the gambling was exceeded in sharpness only by the metal spurs attached to the legs of the fighting fowl, which struggle to the death. Doors were closed and guarded by a rifleman, so that no one might leave until all gambling debts had been paid following each bout. But one man had a special vantage point; he had climbed from inside the church to the roof, where, leaning restfully on the cross, he could gaze down in eager contentment on the fluttering birds and fascinated spectators.

HANDS OF CHRIST

I

Hands of Christ,
Divine hands of a carpenter. . . .
I cannot imagine those hands
Forging lances, hammering out swords,
Nor designing some new model of bomber;
Those hands, the hands of Christ,
Were the hands of a carpenter.

II

Among the artisan hands
That build cruisers and bombers
Yours are not found!
Yours bear the marks of nails,
Heroic marks of sacrifice,
Your hands are bleeding hands,
Contriving creative labor;
Divine hands, hands of a workman,
Building hour after hour.

III

Hands of Christ, callused
Carving cradles,
Making ploughs, building life. . .
I cannot imagine those hands
Busied with cannons,
With grenades, and with explosives;
Those callused hands,
Callused from building life.

FRANCISCO E. ESTRELLO

Translated by DOUGLAS L. PARKER

Opposition to Government

Some countries, such as Brazil—the Vargas tight rule notwithstanding — have developed highly the concept of law as an alternative to private action. But the curse of the Latin American peoples politically, a curse from which they have not yet generally escaped and which the U.S.A. has done more to aggravate than to help, is personal government. Nothing could be more natural than a mass reaction of cynical desperation, characterized most simply as "anti-governmentism." By the millions, Latin Americans who find that their government wants something, discover ingenious ways of seeing that the ruling caste just doesn't get it. The sad thing about this negativism is that, as often as not, it works against the popular interest. The *porteño* governments of Argentina, when most democratic, have often had their problems with the *pampas* dwellers, and in Mexico more than a few government representatives have been shot when they were only trying to straighten boundary lines to give the natives surer titles to their lands.

Conscription in Mexico has driven many a young man into hiding, and in the neighborhood of Tepoztlán nearly a hundred of them lived for months in the mountain forests, not acting like pacifists, but heavily armed and willing, as several instances have proved, to fight contingents of the federal army sent to round them up. This distrust of gov-

ernment, indiscriminate and often ill-informed, is a primary source of violence and has its roots in that species of violence which so long denied democracy to the suffering masses. In Uruguay, on the other hand, resistance by youth to conscription practically wrecked the government's program, and there the recalcitrance was in the name of democracy and peace; but such a motivation is unique.

Revolution is an attractive word when it connotes a social change from despotism, but the majority of revolutions in Latin America have had a different aim. Most of them have simply turned out one arbitrary group of rulers and substituted another. If it is true that Mexico is experiencing more violence than some of the other republics, it must not be forgotten that our contiguous neighbor is only thirty-three years away from the very beginning of its modern revolution, a revolution which has hardly yet been completed. The years of struggle have given the country a flock of generals estimated by one Chilean investigator at 2,161, a military psychology, and a set of slogans which today tend less to promote actual social advance than to further the militaristic methods which retard it.

But in much of Latin America the glorification of past revolutions, often without regard for their aims or consequences, augments the impetus toward violent settlement of group or personal differences. The state of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil, center of cross-frontier wars and revolutionary upheavals, is today markedly belligerent and often reactionary, and in 1930 finished off the Liberal Republic that was the Brazilians' first. Chile, so stirred by bitter wars and revolutions in its early history, has for its present motto, emblazoned on its coat of arms, *La Razon ó La Fuerza*—where reason fails, then force prevails. Well might a national organization of Mexicans declare, as in November, 1943, that the word "revolutionary" has become the refuge of those who want to seem "all right" politically, but is not the slightest indication of a person's progressivism.

Wounded National Pride

A nation's pride can be so wounded as to affect the temper of its individual nationals. Not once has the United States been conquered and reduced to temporary obedience to an outside power. But Mexico has known three conquests: one by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, one by the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century, and then not long after by far-off France. Had it not been for this experience, perhaps the economic dominance that marked our relations with Mexico for so many years might not have provoked so bitter an animosity. There is a story, perhaps apocryphal, of a town in the state of Guerrero, some of whose people were lukewarm about Mexico's part in the present war. After a government orator, however, had gathered the citizenry into the plaza and harangued them about the need of a more bellicose spirit, there was a rush to the platform. "All right," exclaimed the local spokesman, "let's go out and clean up those *Yanquis* once and for all." Mexican children play a game like "cops and robbers," except that the Mexicans are the chasers and the wicked ones are the *gringos*.

When the Second World War involved the United States, it was natural that Washington should be concerned at the feeling, none too disguised in many Latin American quarters, that the Axis powers were going to win. In an effort to counteract this view, the military authorities, understandably, made count to the utmost every bit of contact they could use for the display of our national resources and armed might. Axis propagandists were widely distributed, well heeled financially, and alert to grasp every opportunity. But many functionaries in the United States in their determination to counteract this dangerous infiltration, forgot one central thing. They forgot that, both to habitual anti-gringo elements and to those who desired more friendship with Uncle Sam, the growth of unchallengeable might on the northern side of the Rio Grande seemed a source of danger. Given the experience of history and the number of armed interventions in Latin American affairs by the Yankee forces, every revelation of new power in the north brought increased wonder whether there need be as much alarm over the possible dropping of Axis bombs as those, on some future day, from Yankee airplanes.

Fortunately, this tendency has been somewhat offset by the intelligence shown in many other approaches to the Latin Americans, by the convincing friendliness of numerous agencies in the United States, and by the sheer venomous stupidity of much that has been done in Latin America by Hitler's spokesmen. Latin Americans rather generally are coming to believe that we really mean it when we say that a new era of friendship has begun.

But the United States, under wartime necessities, or what seemed necessities, has been arming the Latin American republics. And in this there is, perhaps, the gravest menace of all to Latin American peace. The net result, almost universally, is the increase of nationalist sentiment. The day will come when ascerbities of diplomacy between Argentines and Brazilians will reach the danger point because of the growing self-assurance of Brazil and the stubborn intransigence of Argentines, some of whom are indeed pro-totalitarian, but most of whom are just not sold on Uncle Samuel. Bolivians have been freshly stirred to seek an outlet to the sea. Paraguayans have been caught up in the intrigues of larger neighbors. Mexico seeks to achieve a greater patriotic fervor by raising the flag at six A.M. in every city by a protracted fanfare of trumpets and drums, turning what might be a colorful and impressive ceremony into a blaring reminiscence of Graustark. The end is not yet. And the North Americans, who felt they had to encourage this trend, will not be happy at its consequences.

This is the second of three articles on Latin America by Joseph M. Goodman and Devere Allen. The third will appear in an early issue.

A Society founded on justice—which is the noblest quality men have conceived—would yet be a society ill at ease, a society with all sorts of ill-resolved tensions in it. For justice consists of rights and duties, and duties tend to become irksome and rights tend to clash. A society founded on justice, though more nearly perfect than any we have known, must of necessity impose limitations on the individual for the sake of the common good. Love, such love as is revealed and interpreted in the life and death of Jesus Christ, which men could not conceive, calls to deeper depths and ampler powers within us than we knew ourselves to possess. The restrictions which love imposes on a man are self-imposed and are no restriction.—ALAN BALDING, in *No Other Foundation.*

Letter from Europe

Reproduced below are excerpts from the Christmas newsletter of Siegmund-Schultze, FOR representative in Europe.

THIS time, we have more to report about Switzerland than formerly, because after the preliminary work of the past few years we ventured out into a larger undertaking, calling a Summer Institute to stimulate thinking on post-war reconstruction. Apart from the Swiss members of the FOR, we were successful in securing the collaboration of five other Swiss organizations interested in pacifism, viz., the Swiss Church League for Peace, the Swiss Association of International Civilian Service, the group of Swiss Quakers, the Rosicrucians, and the Swiss Chapter of the World League for Friendship among the Churches. Of the 90 persons attending, three-fifths were foreigners coming from 16 different countries.

Reports were given on the post-war situations to be expected in the various European countries on the basis of present developments. Discussions were held on basic questions of reconstruction, with reports from eminent experts: Professor Hans Wehberg, of Geneva, discussed the possibilities of an international political organization (League of Nations); the Polish Minister of Economics, Dr. A. Rose, discussed the economic reconstruction of Europe; R. McClelland, American Quaker, talked about food questions; Pierre Ceresole, director of the International Civilian Service, and Rodolfo Olgiati dealt with the reconstruction of devastated areas; Dr. Elisabeth Rotten with education; Dr. Gertrud Kurz, Dr. Kaegi-Fuchsmann, and Miss B. Hohermuth with refugee problems and questions of migration; the Reverend Karl von Greyerz on the tasks of the Protestant Church, and Hans Wirtz on those of the Catholic Church. Although no public reports may be made, the participating organizations are passing the message on. In various parts of Switzerland study groups are being formed which are preparing for post-war reconstruction. It may be hoped that after the war Switzerland will have a reserve of persons ready to do reconstruction work in the various countries in the spirit of the FOR.

Swedish Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Swedish FOR, held this year in Oerebro, also dealt with questions of reconstruction. Dr. Natanael Beskow's introductory address dealt with "The Basic Ideas of Christian Community Living, and a Practical Program." Dr. Beskow declared that a Christian society is possible only to the extent that law and order are the expression of Christ-guided individuals. The fields of economics and international politics offer the strongest resistance to this influence. To what extent the life of society can become Christian depends on the Christian nucleus which obeys the law of Christ.

However, the formation of a Christian party is not a proper remedy. Christian personalities should be found in all parties. Politics must not become religion; if Christ's teachings are made into a political program, the result is political religion. Religion must rather change politics. The Sermon on the Mount can not be the basis of legislation and political action, but rather certain ethical norms resulting from an understanding of the gospel, such as the equality of all before the law. It is not possible, proceeding from this precept, to formulate a detailed program for action, but Christians should attempt to see clearly and defend the evangelical rules of living, in the international as well as the local community.

The second major subject of the Swedish Conference was "How Can Success, Security, and Welfare Be United in the Field of Production?" on which Ingvar Svermilson, university lecturer, reported. He demanded that the suspension of free enterprise created by the war be used for a fundamental discussion of the social and politico-economic organization of life after the war. In the democratic countries, in reaction to the totalitarian idea, the welfare of the individual is purposely made the center of post-war social and economic plans. Not only must the success of the economic system be assured, but also the security and welfare of those dependent on such a system must be furthered and safeguarded. To assure the success of the system, it must be so directed as to bring about the largest possible production of goods and services in relation to manpower, capital, and natural resources available, implying the greatest possible augmentation of national income. The question of full employment continues to be dependent on the market. Possibly the lack of sufficient demand can be evened out by a governmental trade cycle policy. The most important means to this end would be public works combined with increased purchasing power of the masses.

The Church and Peace

The third address at the Oerebro Conference was given by Dr. Gunnar Westin on "The Church and World Peace." He pointed out that peace is not something which can be "made." Peace is a fruit which grows and ripens, behind which there must be vital spiritual powers. The churches must consciously and systematically cultivate peace sentiment. Since peace is the fruit of vital Christian forces, the churches must work, with the upper and lower classes, simultaneously for an international order based on Christian principles. War is not inevitable like natural disasters, but depends on the human will, which is open to influence. Such peace education involves complete renunciation of all church blessings for war undertakings. Nor may the churches continue to accept a theology which teaches that Christianity has nothing to do with international questions and that the State follows its own laws. It must be recognized that national sovereignty is always limited because justice and human brotherhood always come first. All international conflicts must be dealt with legally and settled by valid judgment. Backing the Court of International Justice and an improved League of Nations there must be a strong international enforcement agency able to proceed rapidly and effectively against violators and law-breakers.

Reconstruction Problems

Miss Kerstin Hesselgren spoke on "The Problem of International Reconstruction." Pointing out that the peace experiments after the First World War largely failed, she said new ways of schooling must educate youth in the spirit of cooperation. A new economy must be brought about, firstly from bringing consumption and production into harmony, secondly from developing backward countries, and thirdly from raising the standard of living of the lowest income groups in the entire world. After Sweden had hesitated for a long time to take part in the plans for international reconstruction, she has now made contact with the international relief organizations.

At this Oerebro Conference of the Swedish FOR, its president, Dr. Natanael Beskow, who had presided over the Fellowship since its foundation 25 years ago and had represented it most of the time in the International FOR, announced that in view of his age he could not accept re-election. His old "comrade in arms," the Reverend Samuel Thysell, was unanimously elected president in his place.

The Danish, Norwegian, and Finnish friends of our cause naturally have to keep very quiet. However, now and again we receive word from them and on the whole they are well. The food situation in Belgium has eased somewhat during the past year, so that our friends no longer suffer as acutely as before. In France, Henri is very busy as minister in his suburban parish. His family, too, is doing better, especially since three of his children spent several months in Switzerland to recuperate. Our friends Andre and Kaspar have had to leave their home after repeated difficulties in connection with their refugee work, and they are hiding somewhere at the moment. The "Les Grillons" Home, started by the American FOR, continues with our assistance. But because of the danger to all FOR activities in occupied territories, we will no longer report on this work.

News from the Peace Front

Bombing Protest Gets Nationwide Discussion

Release of the March issue of *Fellowship,* with its protest against the obliteration bombing of German cities, has caused a furore of publicity and discussion that has caused pacifists, long accustomed to being largely ignored during wartime, to blink their eyes. Daily newspapers, news and religious magazines, and radio commentators have carried the story to millions of Americans who otherwise would not have heard it. As the *Christian Century* pointed out editorially, one major purpose of the protestants thus already has been achieved: the acquainting of Americans with the "verities and realities of what is being done in our name in Europe."

The *Fellowship* release was given to the press on March 6. It was well reported in the New York papers, with the *Times* leading off with a front-page article more than a column long. The *Sun* also had a lengthy article starting on the first page; the *Herald-Tribune* put the story on page three; while the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram,* the Hearst *Journal-American,* and the *Post* carried shorter stories "inside." Although the release went on the wires of the various press services at the same time, many out-of-town newspapers apparently ignored or "buried" the original story, and tried to catch up later.

The Public Reacts

By Wednesday, March 8, public reaction had begun to make itself felt. Letters from readers were published in most of the New York newspapers, including some from such prominent individuals as author MacKinlay Kantor and Bishop William T. Manning. Virtually all of the published letters attempted to justify the bombings, and criticized the protest as "hurting the war effort." The *Times* announced that it had received an "unsually heavy mail" on the subject, running 50 to 1 against the protest.

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, president of International Christian Endeavor and a chaplain with the rank of major in the army, "rebuked" the twenty-eight for "hindering the war effort" and "giving comfort to the enemy," and a member of Riverside Church got space in the *Herald-Tribune* by announcing his resignation "in protest" against Dr. Fosdick's participation in the affair.

Several well-known columnists also devoted considerable space to "answering" the protest, including William Shirer, Walter Lippmann, Anne O'Hare McCormick, and Dorothy Thompson. A number of radio commentators, including Raymond Gram Swing, used their time on the national networks for the same purpose, while the weekly "March of Time" brought in Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam to explain why it is unavoidable for Christians to slaughter helpless babies and their mothers.

Bombers Warn Victims

An AP dispatch from London, dated March 22, reported that a fleet of American bombers on the way to raid Berlin, had radioed a warning ahead so that residents might evacuate the areas to be raided. The warning, flashed repeatedly an hour before the bombers reached Berlin, told which districts were to be raided. It was reported in the London DAILY HERALD *from Stockholm.*

Not All Antagonistic

By no means all of the reactions were unfavorable, however. Many comments were respectful; many more were frankly sympathetic. Editorially, the New York *Times* commented that "Massacre by Bombing" was "in reality" an argument against war, and added: "War is, as Miss Brittain says, 'a carnival of death.' . . . Nothing that we value in our collective lives can endure if the war system endures." And Anne O'Hare McCormick, outstanding political analyst of the *Times,* declared: "It (the bombing) will not be justified unless every other means of shortening the war is tried at the same time. . . . So far neither Mr. Churchill nor Mr. Roosevelt has said anything to counter the German propaganda that the peace will be worse than the war."

Mail to the *Fellowship* office was heavy, and largely favorable. A very few extremely abusive and profane letters were included, but most of those who commented at all hailed the protest as "courageous and Christian." Although a large initial printing of the pamphlet had been included with the publishing of the March issue, within two weeks of the release it was necessary to order a second printing. Several individuals voluntarily contributed substantial sums to help with distribution of the pamphlet, and one woman, who confessed that she had allowed her pacifism to "lapse," was so encouraged by the protest that she ordered fifty gift subscriptions to *Fellowship* for friends and acquaintances.

Letters received by signers of the Foreword likewise failed to substantiate the *Times'* "50 to 1 against." Dr. Fosdick's office reported a "fairly heavy" mail running about 60-40 unfavorable. John Haynes Holmes, a focal point of pacifist discussion for years, reported a "normal" mail, with comments on the bombing running a little better than 50-50 favorable; while Allan Knight Chalmers received well over 100 letters about the bombing, of which only three were definitely antagonistic.

Some Editorial Support

A few editors frankly took up the cudgels in support of Miss Brittain's argument. *The Commonweal,* national Catholic weekly, devoted the first editorial of its issue of March 17 to the subject, and urged its readers to send for copies of "Massacre by Bombing." Declaring that *The Commonweal* is not a pacifist magazine, the editorial added: " . . . it will be an appalling and disastrous thing if the argument against the 'saturation' bombing of cities is carried by pacifists exclusively. It will be a shameful thing, and it will not happen through any neglectfulness of ours."

Human Events, a weekly "news-letter" published from Washington, devoted its entire issue of March 16 to an article by Felix Morley, president of Haverford College, commenting on the Brittain article. Mr. Morley pointed out that "the subordination of civilized to national values has now reached the stage where it is no longer certain that the former will be reestablished," and described the bombing protest as a warning against "this suicidal process." "These voices, crying in a wilderness," added Mr. Morley, "may be shouted down. That would not stay the spread of general anxiety, ever more pointedly demanding intelligent and intelligible civilian leadership, to the end that the basis of Western civilization may be saved."

The *Christian Century* similarly devoted two pages of its March 22 issue to editorial comment on the pamphlet, pointing out that the names of those who sponsored it might not be "lightly dismissed." Though it continued to maintain the argument that "the insane logic of war requires that all things be done which are necessary to win victory," the *Century* asks whether "such horror as this indiscriminate slaughter of civilians" is necessary, and adds: "If the war goes on, with obliteration bombing continuing to wipe out whole regions and populations, it is quite possible that in the hour of triumph the victors will find that they have created so much destruction, so much hate, so much misery, so much despair that the very well-springs of Occidental life have been poisoned not only for the vanquished but for the victor also."

Biddle Drops Investigation Of Prison Brutality Charges

Admitting that hospital attendants in the Medical Center of the Federal Bureau of Prisons at Springfield, Missouri, had used "unnecessary force" in handling inmates, Attorney General Francis Biddle nevertheless has declared that charges of brutality (reported in last month's *Fellowship*) do not warrant further investigation.

The detailed charges, listing many cases of extreme cruelty over a period of three years, were made by Louis Taylor, who with Stanley Murphy was transferred to the Medical Center in Springfield (although both were admitted by prison officials to be in good condition mentally and physically) after ending an eighty-two day hunger strike in Danbury (Conn.) Correctional Institution.

In spite of wide demands for a Congressional investigation, Mr. Biddle dismisses the case because all the prisoners who testified before the investigating committee headed by Federal Prison Director James Bennett were "constitutional psychopaths" and "it is at times necessary to use force" to subdue them. All of these witnesses substantiated Taylor's charges, as did also the two prison chaplains and the chief psychiatrist.

Indicating that the prison attendants were responsible for the conditions reported, Mr. Biddle announced that the pay of such attendants has been increased from $1320 to $1680 per year, and that they are to be given special training under a system worked out by Mr. Bennett.

On the night of March 6 a riot broke out among inmates of the Medical Center. Though the immediate cause of the riot was not announced, prison officials declared that drastic measures of discipline would be taken against some 100 prisoners held responsible for smashing furniture, plumbing, and windows.

Kaltenborn Criticizes Handling of Japanese

H. V. Kaltenborn, well-known news commentator, after a tour of our Pacific fighting areas, declares that "there must be something wrong with the way the Japanese problem has been handled in continental United States." As evidence he points out that in talking with General Richardson, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Army in the Pacific, with headquarters in Honolulu, he found that "there has not been a single case of active disloyalty proved against a single one of the 160,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans in the Hawaiian Islands." The General himself declared, "We have no Japanese problem."

Stop the May Bill

The May Bill for compulsory military training in peacetime, introduced by Rep. Andrew J. May, of Kentucky, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, is still in committee. So now is the time to organize all possible opposition to the measure.

Raymond Wilson, of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, reports that in many recent conferences the leaders of churches, educational groups, and labor organizations were not willing to oppose the passage of the bill!

In other words, if the bill is to be stopped, the rank and file of Christian citizens will have to express their opinions directly to their Congressmen. Write your senators and representatives today if you want them to know that you oppose HR3947 with its principle of universal conscription.

Non-Violence Works In Prison, Too

"Stone walls," wrote the poet, "do not a prison make," nor do they, apparently, have any deadening effect on the crusading zeal of an FOR secretary. Bayard Rustin, co-secretary of the FOR Race Relations Department and a working expert in non-violent direct action, was sentenced in February to three years in Federal prison for refusing to cooperate with the Selective Service Act. For two weeks he was held in the Federal House of Detention, in New York City, before being shipped to the prison at Ashland, Kentucky, where he now is.

Early in those two weeks Bayard organized a group of the prisoners into a choir. A little later he refused to accept race segregation in the dining-room, and as a result was thrown into "solitary." When Sunday came, and with it the weekly religious service, the "choir" spontaneously put its collective foot down and refused to sing unless Bayard were released from solitary to direct it.

Bayard was released.

Walks Out of CPS; Placed on Probation

John Edward Tootell recently walked out of a CPS camp in the belief that it was a form of conscription that his conscience could not approve. Judge Ralph E. Jenny, of the District Court in Los Angeles, in trying his case, said, "There doesn't seem to be anything wrong with him except that he doesn't want to fight. . . . I don't see any particular benefit to anyone in sending him to a penitentiary. I am going to suspend sentence and place him on probation" on condition that he "render service in agriculture, dairy farming, in a hospital, or in such place or places as may be from time to time approved by the probation department. . . . I want to give him a chance to show that this objection which he has to military service or to the civilian camp is a genuine one and is not simply predicated upon a desire to get out of meeting his obligations to his country."

Russia and Badoglio

Soviet Russia on March 13 announced that it was extending full diplomatic recognition to the Italian government headed by King Victor Emmanuel and Premier-Marshal Badoglio, and thereby posted one more sign so plain that even "he who runs" may read the disintegration of the once-professed aims of a just world order. There are two major observations to be made concerning the Russian move.

First, the obvious consternation in Washington and London made it clear that Stalin had once more left his partners standing at the post. The great rejoicing over the mutual confidence created in Moscow and Teheran thus has been shown again to have been completely without justification. Suspicion and distrust among the "Big Three" has steadily increased since those conferences.

In the second place, Stalin's latest move provides more proof, if any is needed, that the post-war world will be a battleground for the same kind of power politics as existed in the pre-war period. Nor is there any reason to load the blame solely on Stalin's shoulders. American imperialists with their talk of naval and air bases throughout the world and oil pipelines in the Near East, are equally guilty. So are British statesmen who suggest, as did General Smuts, alliances that are obviously designed to compensate for growing Soviet power.

Every day that passes thus produces fresh evidence of the complete inability of modern political leaders and systems to construct anything faintly resembling a world in which justice and peace can exist. Recognition of that fact is reflected in the growing disillusionment and pessimism among common people everywhere. The conviction presses in that only a daring and revolutionary move in the direction of a generous, constructive peace without victory can hope to rescue Western civilization from impending chaos. It is the challenge of the ages to Christian individuals and the Christian Church.

(Comic relief in the Russia-Badoglio situation was provided, as usual, by the Communist *Daily Worker*, which has long been excoriating the British and American governments for not kicking Badoglio and the King out entirely. The *Worker* approves the Soviet move whole-heartedly, and sees in it "a token of Soviet regard for the dignity and equality of the Italian people.")

R.A.H.

FOR Labor Committee Announces Plans

The newly appointed labor committee of the FOR has been meeting regularly to discuss the philosophy of Fellowship activity in connection with industrial workers and the labor movement, and to consider possible action in this field.

The committee hopes to make contributions in three major areas: (1) to offer guidance to the FOR membership regarding the facts of the union movement, its problems and issues, and ways of helping the movement through our vocations, (2) to find ways of reaching industrial workers with the pacifist philosophy in regard to social change and war, and (3) to discover means of projecting pacifist action techniques into union life.

Existing study materials, the committee feels, need to be interpreted and given philosophical orientation. In fact, the committee is considering the possibility of preparing new materials that will serve that purpose.

Chapel Window Portrays Warship

As was reported in the March *Fellowship,* the Virgin Mary has been made an honorary general in the Argentine army. Patriotic citizens of the U. S. will be glad to know that their country's military forces have been no less generous in paying their respects to religion. A stained glass window in the chapel at the Norfolk (Va.) naval operating base portrays a "Madonna and Ship"—Mary holding in her arms, instead of the Christ-child, a warship, complete with guns.

Baptists Launch World Order Crusade

The Council on Christian Social Progress of the Northern Baptist Convention has announced the launching of a World Order Crusade among the churches of that denomination. Material sent out by Dr. G. Merrill Lennox, chairman of the committee in charge, indicates that the Baptist effort comes to a considerably sharper focus than did the Methodist Bishops' Crusade.

The Baptist campaign will be featured on World Order Sunday (May 7) when pastors are urged to preach on specific problems of world order and ask their congregations to write to their Senators and other government officials. It is to be hoped that this occasion will prove to be only the beginning, and not the climax, and that Baptist leaders will be frank with their people in expressing the growing pessimism felt by most informed Christians about the nature of the coming peace. Baptist members of the Fellowship can help in this task.

The News in Brief

COs who have completed prison terms are highly critical of existing prison conditions in the United States, according to returns from a questionnaire sent out by a group of Chicago COs.

They consider the three greatest evils of our prison system to be (1) retribution rather than rehabilitation as the aim of prisons, (2) authoritarianism, and (3) apathy towards men and conditions.

Nearly all of those questioned believe that COs must take the lead in working for reforms, beginning with education of the public and following up with public pressure through organized action.

The Chicago group plans to publish a complete report on conditions as seen by COs, giving details of their actual experiences in various prisons.

* * *

The Bedford, Virginia, CPS Unit No. 121 recently organized a campaign to oppose the May Bill for peacetime conscription. Each man agreed to write four letters to Congressmen, making a total of 600 letters. In addition they mimeographed a letter of information about the bill to be sent to friends at home, encouraging them to oppose the bill.

CPS men throughout the country have expressed strong disapproval of the bill on the grounds that it would lead to an armament race and another war, that it would establish a form of fascism in America, and that it would produce militarization of our educational system and our entire way of life.

* * *

Men in 12 Friends CPS camps are now engaged, during their non-working hours, in various intensive specialized educational and training programs, and several others are planning to undertake such study projects in the near future.

Some of the courses offered are: French, German, Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese language; relief administration; public health; public welfare methods; mental hygiene; practical nursing; political science; English; and philosophy.

Courses are designed to prepare the men for special service after the war in specific geographical areas and in various phases of reconstruction.

* * *

A Selective Service official recently admitted the need for working out a plan for paying CPS men in hospital and agricultural units. In Congress, Senator Johnson (Colorado) expressed himself as sympathetic toward the problem, but unwilling to push legislation against strong opposition in the Senate. He would be willing to sponsor a measure to provide for the dependents of CPS men if he could find one other senator to help him.

* * *

The Atlantic Charter called for "the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world." But an agreement between the Petroleum Reserves Corporation and the Arabian-American Oil Company, authorizing the construction of an oil pipe-line in the Middle East, provides that: "No sales of petroleum or products will be made by the companies to any government when, in the opinion of the Department of State, such sales would militate against the interests of the United States."

* * *

At the trial of Curtis L. Zahn in the court of Federal Judge Yankwich, San Diego, Calif., the Christian Science Church sent a representative to testify that Mr. Zahn could not have become a conscientious objector because of any teachings of Christian Science. However, the judge held that, according to the law, if an individual sincerely believes that Christian Science teaches him to be a conscientious objector he must be recognized as such, regardless of the official position of the Church.

* * *

The United States Office of Education last month recommended that white colleges in the South make their facilities available to Negro students to help develop leaders who will be able to attack "the difficult problems of the Southern region."

A New Pamphlet

THE VOICE OF THY BROTHER'S BLOOD

By MRS. JOHN H. RANDALL, JR.

Foreword by

Harry Emerson Fosdick

The moving story of the tragedy of the Jews in Europe, told with a restraint that emphasizes the horrible implications of the facts recounted.

10¢ per copy; 25 for $2; 100 for $7; 500 for $27.50

Literature Department

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 B'way, New York 25, N. Y.

FOR Field Secretaries

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Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Readers Agree

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Enclosed find one dollar for which please send to me ten copies of the February issue *Fellowship*. We need more voices crying out against the massacre—crying out in the wilderness of hate. May God be with you.

REV. H. F. EGAN
Minneapolis, Minn.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Enclosed please find check for $7.50 for which please forward to me at your earliest convenience one hundred copies of *Massacre by Bombing*. I am anxious to have this read by everyone in my congregation.

REV. HERBERT J. BRODT
Chicago, Illinois

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Congratulations on *Massacre by Bombing* and many other fine articles recently published in *Fellowship*. They are tops!

OSCAR LINDSTROM
Powellsville, Maryland

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

You have surely done a fine work in publishing *Massacre by Bombing*. May it be scattered far and wide!

JOHN DOEHELE
Chicago, Illinois

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Please send at the very earliest opportunity 100 copies of *Massacre by Bombing* by Vera Brittain. My wife and I plan to distribute these among the members of our Plainfield Friends Meeting and among some of the ministers and teachers of New Brunswick. It is a powerful and moving indictment which must be brought home to as many of us as possible.

FRANKLIN MILLER, JR.
New Brunswick, N. J.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Massacre by Bombing is startling, simply startling. Please send me 12 copies—I know 12 people who ought to be startled.

ED RAPP
Mountainville, N. Y.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Will you kindly send me 2 copies of *Massacre by Bombing?* If enough people could read this it doesn't seem possible that we could allow it to go on! Keep up the good work.

EMILY R. MCDONELL
Radburn, New Jersey

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Massacre by Bombing is the most helpful thing that has come to me to help keep Christians sensitive. Other pressures are so terrific. Even our great churches with flags in chancel, even prayers becoming nationalistic. I *need* just this.

OLIVE TURNBULL
Detroit, Michigan

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

You have rendered a valuable service in publishing Vera Brittain's *Massacre by Bombing*. It will help to make the American people aware of what is going on. Please send me twelve copies of the reprint, for which I enclose one dollar. I am glad that such a distinguished group of Christian ministers endorsed the foreword. You have probably heard that the *Kansas City Times* carried a front-page article about the ministers' protest last Saturday morning.

CHARLES T. BREWSTER
Manhattan, Kansas

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Congratulations on the splendid articles, *Massacre by Bombing* and *Slaughter of the Innocent*. Wish everybody could read them and think straight about the facts.

H. R. CAREY
Grand Rapids, Mich.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

My heart leaped high when I read of the message you and your colleagues had sent to the British churchmen who have been opposing the "block bombing" of German cities. It was a fine gesture—and one that thousands of us rejoiced in.

REV. HAROLD BOSLEY
Baltimore, Maryland

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

If you are compiling a list of additional protesters to the mass bombing going on in Europe, please add my name.

REV. ROY S. SMYRES
Montour Falls, New York

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I read in the *Chicago Tribune* the news of your appeal concerning "obliteration bombing," also editorial comments in other papers which say in effect "you mind your own business and leave such things to those whose business is destruction."

This type of reply is typical of those whose conscience is not 'void of offense.' They don't like the truth because it makes them feel self-condemned.

It is encouraging to see that there are those whose moral sensibilities are still capable of being outraged. The fact that barbarism is reciprocated does not change its character. Our only proper weapon is "the sword of the spirit" which is the Word of God.

I have not seen your pamphlet but what little I read in the newspaper accounts of it encourages me to write to you for several copies.

FRANK SCHMIDT
Cleveland, Ohio

President Disagrees

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Thank you for sending the President the article from *Fellowship* magazine.

He is sorry that he cannot agree either with the "facts" or with the conclusions of the article.

It is the President's obligation to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. This Constitution and the whole structure of American Government are confronted with disaster in the event that Germany and Japan should win the war.

Neither does the President go along with the thought expressed in this article that the present bombing of our enemies is a bombing for revenge. That is a misstatement. The bombing is shortening the war, in the opinion of an overwhelming percentage of military authorities—witness the success in the destruction of German airplane and ball-bearing plants.

Finally, it is thought that very many of the Committee's "facts" are incorrectly stated.

Obviously the President is just as much disturbed and horrified by the destruction of life in this war as any member of the Committee. Thousands of people not in uniform have been killed. The easiest way to prevent many others from being killed is to use every effort to compel the Germans and Japanese to change their philosophy. As long as their philosophy lasts we shall have more death, more destruction and more wars.

That philosophy has nothing of Christianity in it.

You cannot talk conciliation. You can be for the Germans and Japanese and look forward to new "Dark Ages" attended by world-wide death and destruction—or a continuance of the philosophy of peace and the maintenance of civilization. You cannot effect a compromise between these two views.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Church and War

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I believe that John Haynes Holmes' feature regarding the historic relationship of the church to war is unfortunately wrong in its conclusion that progress has been made. What does it matter that the *official* position of the church is now non-participation? The fact remains that the church has actually gone to war, if you consider the church as being a body of indivdual members. What does it matter that the Federal Council or the *Christian Century* or the ministers say the church is not at war, if its membership is producing war materials, using those materials at the front, buying war bonds, paying war taxes? If anything, the present condition indicates a deepening rift between the membership and a church leadership which is itself confused and unconvincing.

DAVID NEWTON

Springtime Is Planting Time

For a Rich Harvest

Consult

FELLOWSHIP'S OWN GUIDE FOR GARDENERS

"Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. . . . Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

NOT IN STOCK

We do not carry in our stock of plantings two items that have achieved a considerable popularity with many gardeners just now—dragon's teeth and wind. Moreover, we believe we should warn all customers against these two attractively advertised commodities.

The fact is that many disappointed users have testified that dragon's teeth do not yield the attractive snap-dragons advertised, but a species of destructive parasite, while sowers of the wind invariably reap whirlwinds.

FLOWERING PEACE DISCUSSION GROUPS

May be planted in churches, youth groups, Y's, community forums, CPS camps, etc. Delicate; require careful cultivation. Chief disease: boredom. Principal pest: dogmatic leaders.

We recommend: Stimulate with *The Next Peace* (.25); *Exit Empire* (.25); *Pattern for Peacemakers* (.25); *War Is The Enemy* (.25); and *Conscription, Test of the Peace* (.10).

RAMBLING REPRINTS

Inexpensive and easy to plant (use U. S. Mail), these blooms will help to cover many an unattractive spot in your community or church. We recommend:

Massacre by Bombing. Bound to cause comment if spread around. (16 pp., incl. Foreword by "28", 10¢ each, 12 for $1; $7.50 per 100.)

Slaughter of the Innocent. Similar to above, but smaller. (2¢ each; $1 per 100; $7.50 per 1,000.)

A NEW FLORAL PATTERN: DESIGN IN BLACK AND WHITE

A color combination long opposed, but now winning considerable support. For help in planting in your community, we recommend:

Races of Mankind (.10); Interracial Primer (.15); *Brother Jim Crow* (.10); *Race—What the Scientists Say* (.05); *Strange Fruit* (a fine novel by Lillian Smith—$2.75); *Interracial Brotherhood* (.02); *What the Bible Teaches About Freedom* (.05).

NATIVE JAPANESE — NOT POISONOUS

Due to certain widely held misconceptions, these have been thoughtlessly uprooted and are now in need of locations to which they may be transplanted. *They are not harmful,* but will prove to be a welcome and useful addition to any community.

We recommend: Those who are not familiar with this species should read *Outcasts* (.15). It describes in detail native habitat, reasons for uprooting, and how to prepare the soil for transplanting.

OUR PRIZE — HARDY PERENNIAL FORERUNNERS

Few plants will yield as much satisfaction as these slowly flowering items, which will be more rewarding with every year that passes. We recommend:

Introduce Forerunner Studybooks (.25 each) into church school and high school classes, and other youth groups. Purchase bulk orders of *The Forerunner* (monthly) to distribute to such groups. Organize Forerunners chapters. Write for full details.

AMAZING VALUE — 20-CENTURIES PLANT

How the weeds sprang up in Christianity's garden of peace, completely described with documentation. Endorsed whole-heartedly by Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, W. Appleton Lawrence, Roland Bainton, and others. Title: *The Fall of Christianity,* by G. J. Heering. Foreword by E. Stanley Jones.

We recommend: This item sells for $1.50 per copy, except for CPS men and seminary students, who get it for 25¢ per copy.

Literature Department

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.